

**Table 1 - Rise of the Global Hegemon:  
Fifty Years of US Foreign Policy in the Periphery : The 34 Cases**

**A. 30 Numbered Cases, divided by Regions and Text Chapters**

	<u>Europe</u>	<u>Middle East</u>	<u>Africa</u>	<u>Asia</u>	<u>Western Hemisphere</u>
<u>Ch. 1</u>	1. Greece 47-9 2. Italy 48			3. Philippines 46-53	
<u>Ch. 2</u>		4. Iran 53 6. Lebanon 58			5. Guatemala 54
<u>Ch. 3</u>			7. Congo 60-5	10. Laos 63-73 11. S. Vietnam 61-4 14. Indonesia 65-6 15. Cambodia 70	8. Cuba 61 9. British Guiana 62 12. Brazil 64 13. Dom. Republic 65 17. Chile 73
<u>Ch. 4</u>		16. Kurdistan 71-5	18. Angola 75	19. Australia 75 20. East Timor 75	
<u>Ch. 5</u>		- - - No Interventions during Carter Administration - - -			
<u>Ch. 6</u>					21. El Salv. 79-91 22. Nicaragua 81-8 23. Grenada 83 26. Panama 89 29. Haiti
<u>Ch. 7</u>	30. Yugo. 95, 99	25. Afghanistan 80-8 27. Iraq 91	24. Libya 81-6 28. Somalia 92-4		
<u>post- 2000</u>		31. Afghanistan, 01ff 32. Iraq, 03ff			33. Venezuela 2/04 34. Haiti 4/02
	n=3	n=7	n=4	n=7	n=13

**B. 34 Cases divided by Familiarity**

**Famous (Familiar Cases)**

Greece - 1947-49 civil war ----->  
Iran - 1953 CIA coup  
Guatemala - 1954 govt. overthrow  
Lebanon - 1958 military intervention  
South Vietnam -1961-65 aid, coup, deceit  
Cuba -1961 Bay of Pigs invasion  
Dominican Republic -1965 military intervention  
Cambodia - 1970 "incursion"  
Chile - 1973 overthrow of government  
Nicaragua -1981-88 contra war  
Grenada - 1983 "rescue" of students  
Panama - 1989 drug lord capture  
Iraq - 1991 liberation of Kuwait  
Haiti - 1994 reinstall democratic govt.  
Yugoslavia - 1995 Bosnia & 1999 Kosovo

Afghanistan - 2001ff ouster of "harborers of terrorists" govt.  
Iraq - 2003ff invasion, regime change, occupation

n=17

**Obscure (Less Familiar Cases)**

Italy - 1948 election rigging  
Philippines - 1946-53 counterinsurgency  
Congo - 1961-65 civil war  
British Guiana - 1961-66 independence delay  
Laos - 1961-73 secret war  
Brazil - 1964 coup  
Indonesia - 1965-66 Year Living Dangerously  
Kurdistan - 1971-75 missionary work  
Angola - 1975 civil war  
Australia - 1975 parl. govt. ouster  
East Timor - 1975 genocide  
El Salvador- 1979-92 counterinsurgency  
Afghanistan - 1981-88 support for  *Jihad*   
Libya - 1981-86 bombings  
Somalia - 1992-94 nation-building

Venezuela - 4/02 attempted coup  
Haiti, 2/04 - govt. overthrown, kidnap(?) of president

n=17

**Table 2 – Cases vs. Main Theses**

a. Strategic (ex-impl. power)

b. Economic (capitalism&gt;democracy; non-democratic political form promoted)

1. Greece '47-49	UK	monarchists & fascists supported along with democrats; but only military in 1967-74
2. Italy '48	Germany; (+UK, SU, '43)	1-CDP-party dominant government, 1948-93
3. Philippines '46-53	not applicable (US)	CIA-influenced elections, 1953-61; Marcos dictatorship, 1972-86
4. Iran '53	UK, Russia	absolute monarchy of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, 1953-79
5. Guatemala '54	n.a. ( US)	military dictators, '59-85; Dulles law firm & United Fruit Co. key actors in '54 coup
6. Lebanon '58	France (+ UK in Suez)	ethnic-based managed democracy keeps capitalism in Christian control for 17 more yrs.
7. Congo '61-65	Belgium	Mobutu military dictatorship, 1965-97, yields klepto-capitalism
8. Cuba '61	(defends vs. USSR)	n.a. (US unsuccessful)
9. British Guiana '61-66	UK	ethnic-minority 1-party dominant government, 1966-92
10. Laos '61-73	France	<i>troika</i> neutralist government has few democrats
11. S. Vietnam '61-65	France	Diem & later military leaders (Ky, Thieu) protect (primarily French) capital, 1954-75
12. Brazil '64	n.a.	military dictatorships, 1965-85; capitalist "economic miracle"
13. Dom. Rep. '65	n. a.	civil war to restore crony capitalist Balaguer, 22 of next 30 yrs. (over elected soc.-dem. Bosch)
14. Indonesia '65-66	Netherlands	Suharto military dictatorship, 1966-98; crony capitalism
15. Cambodia '70	France	Lon Nol milit. dictatorship, '70-75; provokes civil war that brings <i>Khmer Rouge</i> genocide
16. Kurdistan '71-75	UK, Russia (see #4)	Shah of Iran, civil war in Iraq, preferred over self-determination (democracy) for Kurds
17. Chile '73	n.a.	Pinochet military dictatorship, 1973-89; alleged "economic miracle"
18. Angola '75	Portugal	civil war, from 11/75 independence until 11/01 death of US's Savimbi
19. Australia '75	UK	elected government ousted, parliamentary democracy undermined, for US "security" interests
20. East Timor '75	Portugal	Indonesian "colony" preferred over self-determination (democracy) for Timorese
21. El Salvador '79-91	n.a.	"progressive" juntas and "demonstration-elections" democracy
22. Nicaragua '81-88	n.a.	civil war, 1981-88; subversion of 1984 election
23. Grenada '83	UK	n.a. (quick, one-year, transition to democracy)
24. Libya '81,'86	Italy, UK; USSR	n.a. (US unsuccessful)
25. Afghanistan '80-88	Russia, UK	civil war visited upon pre-industrial economy, 1980-88ff
26. Panama '89	n.a.	n.a. (democracy restored after drug thug Noriega tolerated, 1981-89)
27. Iraq '91	UK	Kuwait monarchy upheld for Western capital
28. Somalia '92-94	UK, Italy; USSR	n.a. (US unsuccessful; civil war not ended in pre-industrial economy)
29. Haiti '94	n.a.	Aristide's full term cut to make way for more pliant Preval
30. Yugoslav.95,'99	USSR/Russia	ethnically partitioned, one-party nationalist govts. welcoming capitalist reconstruction
31. Afghanistan, '01ff	Russia,UK; Pak.,Taliban	privatized reconstruction \$, & drug trade > weak presidential "referendum democracy"
32. Iraq, '03ff	UK, Sunnis, Saddam	robust capitalist spending > occupied democratic "unity" government
33. Venezuela, 4/02	n.a.	attempt to wrest capitalist economy from democratically-elected president
34. Haiti, 2/04	n.a.	ouster of democratically-elected leftist president to "regenerate" capitalism



### Table 3 - Methods Employed in US Interventions

**a. Notorious**

<u>i. invasions, n=12</u>	<u>ii. coups, n=11</u>	<u>iii. assassination attempts, n=9</u>	<u>iv. overkill, n=11</u>
Lebanon	Iran	Congo: Lumumba	Iran (SAVAK)
Cuba (supported)	Guatemala	Cuba: Castro	Guatemala (Rios Montt)
Dom. Rep.	Congo	SVN: Ngo Dinh Diem	Laos (most bombed in history)
Cambodia	Laos	Dom.Rep.: Trujillo	SVN (strategic hamlets)
Grenada	S. Vietnam	Chile: Schneider, Allende	Indonesia ("Year: '65-'66")
Panama	Brazil	Libya: Qaddafi	Cambodia (Pol Pot)
Iraq	Indonesia	Iraq: Saddam Hussein	Angola (longest, deadliest war)
Somalia	Cambodia	Somalia: Aided	E. Timor (annexation, genocide)
Haiti	Chile	Yugoslavia: Milosevic	El Salvador (death squads)
Yugoslavia	El Salvador		Afghan. - 10,000 civilian dead
Afghanistan	Haiti		Iraq - 100,000 civilian dead
Iraq			

### b. Subtle

<u>i. constitution manipulate, n=11</u>	<u>ii. election tampering, n=1</u>	<u>iii. political use of aid, n=22</u>
Iran	Italy	Greece
Lebanon	Philippines	Philippines
Congo	British Guiana	Egypt
Laos	Dom. Rep.	British Guiana (strikes)
Cambodia	Chile	S. Vietnam
Chile	El Salvador	Indonesia
Australia	Nicaragua	Chile (strikes, military)
Grenada	Haiti	Grenada
Afghanistan	Yugoslavia	Iraq (1991 Coalition)
Iraq	Iraq	Somalia
Venezuela (referendum process)	Haiti (2000 parliam.el.results)	Venezuela (NED)
		Italy
		Guatemala
		Congo
		Laos
		Brazil
		Cambodia
		El Salvador
		Panama
		Haiti, 1991-2000
		Iraq
		Haiti.'01-04 (IRI)

### Table 4 - Personalities Involved in US Interventions

### a. “Thugs” as Junior Partners

i. collaborators, n=6	ii. CIA "assets," n=15	iii. drug traffickers, n=5	iv. dictators, n=15
Greece	Greece ('67-74 military)	Laos	Greece, '67-74
Italy	Italy (CDPers, Andreotti, etc.)	Nicaragua ( <i>contras</i> )	Philippines, '72-86
Congo	Philippines (Macapagal, Magsaysay)	Afghanistan	Iran, '53-79
Laos	Iran (Shah)	Panama	Guatemala, '59-84
Indonesia	Guatemala (Castillo Armas)	Afghanistan	Congo, '65-97
Croatia	Fertile Crescent (Jordan King)		S. Vietnam, '54-75
	Congo (Mobutu)		Guyana, '66-91
	Laos (Gen. Phoumi Nosavan)		Brazil, '65-85
	S. Vietnam (Conein collaborators)		Indonesia, '66-99
	Chile (1970 coupsters)		Cambodia, '71-75ff
	Australia (Gov. Gen. Kerr)		Kurdistan (see Iran)
	Afghanistan ( <i>mujahedeen</i> )		Chile, '73-89
	Panama (Noriega)		E. Timor (see Indonesia)
	Haiti (Constant)		Iraq (Kuwait, '91ff)
	Iraq (Allawi, Chalabi)		Afghan.cent.Asian allies

### **b. “Pests” to be Dealt With**

i. crazies, n=20		ii. expendables, n=20	
weepy Mossadegh	communist Arbenz	Greece's Papandreou, left	Italy's Andreotti
long-winded, bearded Castro	labor leader Jagan	Phil.'s Marcos (after '86)	Christian Lebanese post- '76
remote Ngo Dinh Diem	neurotic Qadros	Guyanese South Asians	non-Pathet Lao
communist sympathizer Bosch	immoral Sukarno	SVN's Diem, '63	Dom. Rep.'s Trujillo, 5/61
mercurial Sihanouk	incompetent Allende	"sideshow" Cambodians	Kurds, '75 and '91
designer-glassed Ortega	"mad dog" Qaddafi	Tshombe, '64; Mobutu, '97	UNITA's Savimbi
drug-kingpin Noriega	Hitler Saddam Hussein	E. Timor, '76-99	Afghan <i>mujaheddin</i>
warlord Aidede	defrocked Aristide	Nicaraguan <i>contras</i>	Panama's Noriega
war criminal Milosevic	Afgh. al Qaeda terrorists	Haiti '94: Cedras, Constant	Yugoslavia's Kosovars
Saddam's WMD, link to terror	Chavez undemocratically governing	Iraq's Chalabi, Allawi	Haiti '04: Philippe, Chamblain, etc.



**Table 5 – Cases vs. Local Disasters due to US Interventions**

	a. loss of democracy/# yrs. <i>politics disrupted (thru 2006)</i>	*deferrals*	b. wars, # <i>deaths(=d.)</i>
1. Greece '47-49	success until . . .	*'67-74 mil. dictatorship=7 yrs.*	160,000 d. in '45-49 civil war
2. Italy '48	1-party-dominat CDP regime, 1948-93 = 45 yrs.		NA
3. Philippines '46-53	CIA in elections, '53, '61	*Marcos dictatorship, '72-86 = 14 yrs.*	9,000 d. in '50-52, 35,000 d. in '69-86
4. Iran '53	monarch, '53-79; Islamic Fund. rule, '79ff = 53+ yrs.		1,300 d. in '53; 20,000 d. in '78-79
5. Guatemala '54	military rule, 1959-84 = 25 yrs.		200,000 d. in '61-96 (35-yr.) civil war
6. Lebanon '58	Christian rule artificially prolonged, '58-75 = 17 yrs.	*1975-91 civil war*	150,000 d. in 16-yr. war
7. Congo '61-65	Mobutu, '65-97 + Kabilas, '97ff = 41+ yrs.		100,000 d. in '61-65 war; 2 million d. since 1998
8. Cuba '61	Castro 1p-communist rule, '61ff=45+ yrs, but good qual. of life		~100 d. at Bay of Pigs
9. Br. Guiana '61-66	delay of independ., '62-66; 1-party minority rule, '66-92 = 30 yrs..		300 d. in '63 strike, racial warfare
10. Laos, '63-73	Pathet Lao rule delayed, '62-75 = 13 yrs.		most bombed country in history; 1 mill.d. or homeless
11. S. Vietnam '61-65	US-Indochina war, 1963/65-73/75 = 12 yrs.		prelude to 10-yr.war, '65-75, with >2 million d.
12. Brazil '64	military dictatorships, 1965-85 = 20 yrs.		~500 dead or disappeared
13. Dom. Rep. '65	Trujillo's Balaguer, '66-78, '86-96 = 22 yrs. (of next 30)		3,000 d. in '65
14. Indonesia '65-66	Suharto dictatorship, '66-98 = 32 yrs.		500,000 d. in '65-66 power transfer
15. Cambodia '70	end of stability, civil wars, 1970-98 = 28 yrs.		155,000 d. in '70-75; + 1.8 mill. d. in '75-79
16. Kurdistan '71-75	loss of autonomy, 1975-91 = 16 yrs.		~200,000 d. in '74, '88 (especially), '91
17. Chile '73	Gen. Pinochet dictatorship, '73-89 = 16 yrs.		1 mill. exiled, 3,000 d. in '73-74
18. Angola '74-75	colonial war prolonged by US intervention into 1975-91 = 16 yrs.		1 mill. d. since 1975
19. Australia '75	"normal" parl. Govt. change removes Labor, '75-87 = 12 yrs.		NA
20. East Timor '75	Indonesian colony, '75-99 = foreign rule for 24 yrs.		100,000 (of 600,000 pop.) d. in '75; + 2,000 d. in '99
21. El Salvador '79-91	d'Aubuisson's ARENA rule succeeds CDP, 1986ff = 20+ yrs.		75,000 d. in '79-91 civil war
22. Nicaragua '81-88	contra v. Sandinista civil war, '81-88 = 8 yrs.(inclusive)		30,000 d. in '81-88 contra war.
23. Grenada '83	NO loss; in fact, improvement over Coard junta; and . . .		"only" 100 d.
24. Libya '81, '86	? Politics the same; 1986ff sanctions inconvenient only to elites		< 50 d. before 259 in Pan Am 103
25. Afghanistan '81-88	1980-present civil war, occupation = 26+ yrs.		2 mill. d., 5 mill. refugees
26. Panama '89	NO; politics, democracy actually restored; but . . .		2,000-4,000 d. in "arrest" of Noriega
27. Iraq '91	Kuwait monarchy restored; '91ff sanctions consolidate Saddam		100,000 d. in war + 400,000+ d. fm. sanctions
28. Somalia '92-94	? civilians fed, but civil war continues, and . . .	*600,000 d. in Rwanda, '94*	~1,000 d. in US ops.
29. Haiti '94	Failure to oust '91-94 junta = 3 yrs. with . . .		4,500 d.
30. Yugoslavia '95, '99	ethnic-split Bosn. '95; autonom. Kosovo, '99; democ. Yugo., '00		200,000 d. in Bosnia, 10,000 d. in Kosovo
31. Afghanistan, '01ff	n.a. No democracy pre-war; politics re-started, war continues (see Case 25)		10,000+ civilian dead
32. Iraq, '03ff	n.a. No democracy pre-war; politics started, but civil war provoked, 4+ yrs.		100,000+ civilian dead
33. Venezuela, 4/02	NO. Democratic govt. overthrown for about 48 hours only		< 20 dead in abortive coup
34. Haiti, 2/04	democratic (Aristide) government removed, 2004-06 = 2 yrs.		about 100 dead in '04, 8,000 next two years
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>&gt; 500 yrs. disrupted politics</b>	<b>~180 yrs. exacerbated war</b>	<b>~7,100,000 deaths</b>